

---

Research Article

## The radical challenge of Mary Shelley's *The Last Man*

Ronald Paul\*  
University of Gothenburg

Received January 2024; accepted November, 2024;  
published online December, 2024

**Abstract:** This article explores how social, political and ecological issues precipitated by a cholera pandemic are not only dramatized in Mary Shelley's novel, *The Last Man* (1826), but also how these reflect the continued radicalization of her own life and ideas. I want therefore to argue for a reading of the novel that goes beyond its obvious dystopian dimensions. In particular, in a striking reversal, how the plague triggers not chaos, confusion and conflict, but opens up utopian spaces for active cooperation and political engagement. Instead of merely being a story of ineluctable human extinction, Mary Shelley offers a more challenging diagnosis of worldwide contagion and its historical implications.

**Keywords:** Mary Shelley, *The last man*, political radicalism, cholera pandemic, ecology, utopian spaces

### 1 Introduction

Mary Shelley lived through some of the most tumultuous times in human history, an epoch of radical change that transformed the world around her. She was born in 1797 in the wake of the American and French revolutions. She grew up during the Napoleonic wars that redrew the political and ideological map of Europe. *The Declaration of the Rights of Man* reverberated across continents, inspiring people to reject the privileges of aristocratic elites that had hitherto ruled the world. Slave uprisings occurred throughout the West Indies, culminating in a victorious war of liberation waged in Haiti between 1791 and 1804, led by the great Black slave leader Toussaint L'Ouverture. It was a struggle that paved the way for the complete abolition of slavery. In 1819 the Peterloo massacre in Manchester saw peaceful protesters demanding democratic parliamentary reform maimed and killed by mounted government troops. An atrocity that moved her husband, Percy Shelley, to write one his most famous protest poems, *The Mask of Anarchy* (1819). The industrial revolution in the north of England compelled groups of 'Luddite' weavers to smash the newly installed factory machines in a desperate attempt to save their own jobs. Mary Shelley also witnessed the rise of the Chartist movement in Britain, the world's first independent working-class political party. She died three years after the 1848 revolutions that overthrew governments and monarchies in a wave of radical revolt, of which Karl Marx famously wrote: 'A spectre is haunting Europe, the spectre of Communism.'

Not only was her life framed by this intellectual *zeitgeist* of social and political upheaval, she also experienced two catastrophic events which must have left a profound impression on her perception of the indomitable forces of nature. Her first novel, *Frankenstein* (1818), was written in the aftermath of the huge volcanic eruptions of Mount Tambora, Indonesia, in 1815,

\*Corresponding author: Ronald Paul, E-mail: ronald.paul@sprak.gu.se

**Copyright:** © 2024 Author. This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>), allowing third parties to copy and redistribute the material in any medium or format and to remix, transform, and build upon the material for any purpose, even commercially, provided the original work is properly cited and states its license.

which lasted for three years. Clouds of ash shrouded the skies in semidarkness that spread around the globe. This was followed by freezing cold rain and sleet in the 'Year without a summer' during which thousands died of hunger and privation. She also saw one of the worst outbreaks of cholera between 1817 and 1824. A pandemic that swept through China, India, the Middle East, Africa and Europe, carried to Britain in part by infected British soldiers returning from the colonies. People died from what was then considered an incurable disease of such epic proportions that seemed to presage the end of the world.

Without doubt, these events must have contributed directly or indirectly to the writer that Mary Shelley became, making her more acutely aware of the fractured connection between people and their natural surroundings. A theme she also returned to in her own work. This was particularly the case in her second and most overtly polemical novel, *The Last Man* (1826), which she began composing soon after the death of her husband, Percy Shelley, and their closest friend and political ally, George Lord Byron.<sup>1</sup>

## **2 Mary Shelley: the critical debate**

Despite this historical positioning of Mary Shelley within a framework of radical social transformation, later critics of her work have nevertheless sought to trace a retroactive process of political retreat on her part, away from the ideas she shared during her life with Percy Shelley. This trajectory is thus one of Mary Shelley becoming personally and professionally more conformist. She pursued this new direction, it is claimed, both to enhance the posthumous literary reputation of her husband, as well as to help make a better living for herself as a respectable middle-class author. In her recent biography of Mary Shelley, Fiona Sampson considers her revisionism to be "a telling reminder of where this former revolutionary now locates herself within the English class system [...] Mary agrees with her father-in-law. Percy's verse has its best chance of success, at least in the short term, if his personal life is forgotten and his more revolutionary critiques are glossed over" (2018, pp. 236–237). Charlotte Gordon delivers an even more damning characterization of Mary Shelley's subsequent personal development: "Mary [...] would be condemned for compromising the revolutionary values of her genius husband and her pioneering mother. Viewed as a woman who cared more about her place in society than about political ideas or artistic integrity, she was discounted as an intellectual lightweight, her only important work done with the help of her husband" (2015, p. 546).<sup>2</sup>

Ostensibly, Mary Shelley's supposed political apostasy recycles the commonplace of radical in youth, conservative in age. However, if we look closer at her writings, there is more than an indication of Mary Shelley remaining faithful to her rebel roots. The most significant testimony to this are the extensive notes she included in the four-volume edition she published in 1839 of Percy Shelley's poetry. These tell us as much about herself as about her husband, in particular how she still upheld the legacy of their shared radical ideals. Here we also find confirmation of her continued commitment to the view of writing as a fundamentally political act. Mary Shelley

---

1 Byron's poem, "Darkness", which he wrote at in 1816, is not only based on descriptions of the Tambora volcanic eruptions and their disastrous global consequences. It is also one of the prime literary sources for Mary Shelley's novel, *The Last Man*. See further, Kate Rigby, "Confronting Catastrophe: Ecocriticism in a Warming World" (2014).

2 The same arguments are once again rehearsed by Charlotte Gordon in her even more recent *Introduction to Mary Shelley*: "Mary Shelley knew that if she wanted the public to admire her husband as a poet, she must avoid mentioning his radical ideas. She was also well aware that any controversy surrounding his name would hurt her career, as well. Both their literary legacies depended on how carefully she retold the past". (2022, p. 112)

makes for example the following comment on Percy Shelley's response to the Peterloo massacre of 1819:

Shelley loved the People; and respected them as often more virtuous, as always more suffering, and therefore more deserving of sympathy, than the great. He believed that a clash between the two classes of society was inevitable, and he eagerly ranged himself on the people's side. He had an idea of publishing a series of poems adapted expressly to commemorate their circumstances and wrongs. He wrote a few; but, in those days of prosecution for libel, they could not be printed. (1978, p. 588)

The idea that Mary Shelley sought to transform Percy Shelley's public image into that of a Romantic pipe-dreamer is also gainsaid by her repeated references to his support for the causes of republicanism, freethinking and revolution. Ideals that made him (and her) a pariah to many people at the time. It was for instance against the advice of both her publisher and her father-in-law that Mary Shelley nevertheless insisted on including Percy Shelley's most controversial poem, *Queen Mab*, in his collected works. This begins with a philosophical treatise on *The Necessity of Atheism*, in which he provocatively declared: "There is no God" (1978, p. 812). To promote Percy Shelley's poetry was however only one part of Mary Shelley's radical project. The other was to pursue her own ambitions as a writer of socially oriented novels, short stories and essays. Thus, it was against this background of literary, political and personal controversy that *The Last Man* was conceived.

Mary Shelley's chosen career as a writer was never an easy one. Despite its sensational subject matter – the ultimate disappearance of the human race – her novel, *The Last Man*, was dismissed as a failure.<sup>3</sup> A critical rejection that reflected more of a mixture of political hostility and gender prejudice than anything else, as Fiona Gordon notes:

When *The Last Man* was published in January 1826, the response was overwhelmingly negative. Critics complained that Mary Shelley's writing was too dark. In an era that celebrated progress the novel's pessimism struck a discordant note. Humankind was on the brink of calamity, Mary Shelley implied, leading pundits to wonder what kind of woman had dreamed up this nightmare vision (Introduction 2022:91)

Once the book had gone out of print, it was quickly forgotten. Not even the runaway success of Mary Shelley's first novel, *Frankenstein*, could help promote her new one, despite their shared elements of Gothic melodrama and radical pathos. The end of the world was clearly an imaginary leap too far for prospective 19<sup>th</sup> and even 20<sup>th</sup> century readers.

However, one needs to acknowledge the subsequent decisive role played by Muriel Spark, the Scottish novelist, in trying to break through this critical neglect by initiating the first serious engagement with Mary Shelley's writing. In her full-length study of Mary Shelley's life and work, *Child of Light: A Reassessment of Mary Shelley*, published in 1951, Spark attempted to recover Mary Shelley's novel, not least by including an extended summary of the plot, making it available again after more than a century. In 2013 Spark published a revised edition of this earlier work, where she took the opportunity to retract what she admitted was her own misrepresentation of Mary Shelley as someone who had compromised her ideals in the name of social convention:

In my first assessment of Mary Shelley's life story I held the then wide-diffused view that after the death of Shelley she gradually craved more and more for bourgeois respectability. I now think this is an oversimplification (2013, xv).

---

<sup>3</sup> See further, Brian Aldiss, Introduction to *The Last Man*. (1985)

In particular, Spark identified Mary Shelley's second novel as a fictional realignment of her reputation as the daughter of Mary Wollstonecraft, pioneering feminist; of William Godwin, proto-anarchist; and wife of Percy Shelley, socialist poet. At the same time remaining both true to and independent of all three radical thinkers. It was at this juncture in her life that Mary Shelley sought not only to reaffirm the progressive heritage of her family, but also her own radical aspirations as a novelist.<sup>4</sup>

Moreover, it is these tensions in her work that, I would claim, can still provoke us today, not least in terms the political and environmental aspects of the narrative which the outbreak of the plague lays bare. These form a web of considerations that Spark only hints at, but which need to be dealt with in more critical detail.

### 3 *The Last Man*

To begin with there are questions to be asked about the title of Mary Shelley's novel, *The Last Man*, since the teller of the story, Lionel Verney, might not be the only human being left on earth after all. While he himself is infected by the plague and survives, at least two other characters, Clara and Adrian, also prove to be immune to it. There might therefore still be others whose existence Verney knows nothing about. The infection, which has swept across the world, may have left people who are still able to continue the human species. All this is pure conjecture of course, but it nevertheless raises the question of how the ending of the novel could be read, something I will return to later. Verney himself is also clearly trying to reach out to posterity, making his narrative both a prophecy and a lesson to be learnt by future readers. Moreover, even though the Europe he describes might seem empty, his recollections are full of individual accounts of how people not only died in the shadow of the plague, but more importantly how they lived.<sup>5</sup> Faced with the seemingly inevitable decimation of the population by cholera, much of the narrative focuses on the personal response of a small group of radical women and men who try to save themselves and others from the encroaching onslaught.<sup>6</sup> Surprisingly, the fear of physical extermination does not cause widespread panic or protest. Instead, there is more concern about how to contain the plague by concentrating resources, not least food, water and shelter. The solution adopted in this context involves a combination of rational planning, mutual collaboration and human compassion, a response that would have very much appealed to Mary Shelley, herself a child of the Enlightenment. Moreover, even before the cholera epidemic starts to expose the deeper divisions of class society, there are sharp political debates about what sort of changes would be needed to eradicate poverty, inequality and injustice. In a gesture of literary mourning, Mary Shelley brings back to life Lord Byron, as Raymond, and Percy Shelley, as Adrian, both fulfilling the role Shelley famously claimed for poets as the "unacknowledged legislators of the world" (*A Defence of Poetry*, 182, p. 701). Although their

---

4 See further, Spark, pp. 3–20.

5 This narrative strategy of looking backward on traumatic historical events by means of rediscovered documents has been used by several subsequent novelists in order to give their dystopian futures a more hopeful outcome. Katharine Burdekin's *Swastika Night* (1937) for instance looks back on 700 years of fascism, now defunct. Orwell's *1984* (1949) contains an appendix on 'Newspeak', the language of Big Brother which, it is indicated, has passed into history together with its totalitarian system. Margaret Atwood's *The Handmaid's Tale* (1985) begins with an academic conference where papers discussing the regime of Gilead, also now overcome, are to be debated.

6 For a deeper discussion of the gender aspects of Mary Shelley's novel, see Steven Goldsmith, 'Of Gender, Plague, Apocalypse: Mary Shelley's *The Last Man*', *Yale Journal of Criticism*, 4 (1990, pp. 129–73). Further parallels between the plague in *The Last Man* and today's Covid pandemic are discussed by Olivia Murphy in her article, 'The Last Man by Mary Shelley is a prophecy of life in a global pandemic'. [www.sydney.edu.au](http://www.sydney.edu.au). 5 May 2020.

plans for radical reform are never realized because of the plague, Mary Shelley nevertheless suggests that while there are often limited choices as to our future, utopia should always remain one of them:

Raymond was occupied in a thousand beneficial schemes. Canals, aqueducts, bridges, stately buildings, and various edifices for public utility, were entered upon; he was continually surrounded by projectors and projects, which were to render England one scene of fertility and magnificence; the state of poverty was to be abolished; men were to be transported from place to place almost with the same facility as the Princes Houssain, Ali, and Ahmed, in the Arabian Nights. The physical state of man would soon not yield to the beauty of angels; disease was to be banished; labour lightened of its heaviest burden. (2008:106)

In the novel Britain is involved in foreign wars, which Mary Shelley clearly condemns, even though they are fought under the guise of national liberation. The Greek war of independence from the Turks is the focal point of one such conflict in the narrative, culminating in the bloody siege and destruction of Constantinople and the first outbreak of the plague. This coalescing of war, colonization and cholera leaves not only a trail of destruction and death. It also exposes the reality behind the liberatory rhetoric. In the novel, Raymond, is thus meant to personify this double-edged cause of Greek independence and the imperial carve up of the Ottoman empire:

I am about to return to Greece, to become again a soldier, perhaps a conqueror. Will you accompany me? You will behold new scenes; see a new people, witness the mighty struggle going forward between civilization and barbarism; behold, and perhaps direct the efforts of a young and vigorous population. (2008:153)

It is also in this context that Mary Shelley challenges the stereotype of a villainous Oriental Other by depicting the slaughter of Turkish men, women and children and the pillaging of their cities by Greek freedom fighters. Thus, in a complete reversal of the claim of a 'civilizing mission', she gives a voice to those who are on the receiving end of this toxic mixture of nationalistic fervor and colonial robbery with violence:

'Take it, Christian dogs! Take the palaces, the gardens, the mosques, the abode of our fathers – take plague with them; pestilence is the enemy we fly, if she be your friend, hug her to your bosoms. The curse of Allah is on Stamboul, share ye her fate.' (2008:191)

When Mary Shelley wrote her novel, there was no real scientific knowledge of the bacterial origins of cholera. Instead, she repeats the belief that it is carried by some sort of "effluvia" (2008:188) or "pestilential air" (2008:195). She thought, however, that the spread of the contagion was also connected to factors that were primarily 'man-made': "Fire, and war, and plague, unite for thy destruction" (2008:181). These words of warning are spoken by Raymond's Greek lover, Evadne, who fears the consequences of his relentless pursuit of gold and glory. This is also an insight, one might add, that does not only belong to the distant past. It is the same lethal combination of neocolonial war, environmental degradation and pandemic contagion that has blighted the world to the present day, as Mike Davis reminds us:

This new age of plagues, like previous pandemic epochs, is directly the result of economic globalization. The Black Death for instance, was the inadvertent consequence of the Mongol conquest of inner Eurasia, which allowed Chinese rodents to hitchhike along the trade routes from Northern China to Central Europe and the Mediterranean [...] Today ... multinational capital has been the driver of disease evolution through the burning or logging out of tropical forests, the proliferation of factory farming, the explosive growth of slums and concomitantly of 'informal employment'. (2022:17)

The response to the infection when it ultimately arrives in Britain is, as has been noted, not one of individual self-preservation. Instead, Mary Shelley points to another parallel of her own time between the reception of refugees from the Continent during the Napoleonic wars and the treatment of the plague victims. Thus, in the novel, people accommodate the sick and the dying in their own homes. Even Windsor Castle opens its royal doors to the refugees, becoming “an asylum for the unhappy” (2008:236). This mobilization of support is a further radical contrast that Mary Shelley incorporates in her projection of a society coping together under epidemic siege.

It was impossible to see these crowds of wretched, perishing creatures, late nurselings of luxury, and not stretch out a hand to save them. As at the conclusion of the eighteenth century, the English unlocked their hospitable store, for the relief of those driven from their homes by political revolution; so now they were not backward in affording aid to the victims of a more wide-spreading calamity. (2008:236)

Solidarity is without doubt the key theme of Mary Shelley's utopian narrative. Adversity, she maintains, brings people together. There is still the unfailing hope that the cholera infection will be overcome and life will prevail. A telling example of this is the armed rebellion of half-starved peasants who arrive in England from Ireland in order to plunder the land of their now debilitated adversary. They are met by a similarly ragtag English army, although not one that seeks to drown the revolt in blood. In reality, Ireland was a dark chapter in English colonial history of which Mary Shelley and Percy Shelley were profoundly aware.<sup>7</sup> However, in a counterfactual turn, Adrian makes a fraternal appeal to abandon their mutual hostilities and forge instead an alliance against their common enemy, the plague. Thus, through this compelling moment of historical revisionism, Mary Shelley creates yet another nexus of utopian transcendence.

Lay down your arms, fellow men! brethren! Pardon, succour, and brotherly love await your repentance. You are dear to us, because you wear the frail shape of humanity; each one among you will find a friend and host among these forces. Shall man be the enemy of man, while plague, the foe to all, even now is above us, triumphing in our butchery, more cruel than her own? (2008:302)

It is also symbolic that it is Lionel Verney, a former shepherd boy brought up to be a poet and scholar, who appears to be the very last person to survive. It is he who contemplates the glories of Rome that have now been abandoned. His is an inverted grand tour through Europe that is ultimately without any real meaning since he is the only one left to admire the cathedrals, palaces and grand public squares. It is Verney who waives farewell to these achievements of classical culture – art, sculpture, architecture – all of which are now literally and metaphorically contaminated. Moreover, in sentiments that recall Percy Shelley's sonnet, *Ozymandias* (1818), Mary Shelley views nature as the great leveller, slowly eroding the monuments of the mighty and ultimately burying them beneath the sand. It is a poetic expression of environmental retribution that reverberates through to the radical conclusion of the novel:

Alas! To enumerate the adornments of humanity, shews, by what we have lost, how supremely great man was. It is all over now. He is solitary, like our first parents expelled from Paradise, he looks back towards the scene he has quitted. The high walls of the tomb, and the flaming sword of plague, lie between it and him. Like to our first parents, the whole earth is before him, a wide desert. (2008, p. 322)

Like the eponymous Romantic wanderer, Verney is alone and yet not completely so. He soon realizes that he is still surrounded by life, wild and domestic, from birds to cattle, goats, horses and sheep, generating a thriving “population of animals” (2008, p. 460). Moreover, this natural

---

<sup>7</sup> See further, Percy Shelley's pamphlet, *An Address to the Irish People*. (1816).

world has remained untouched by the plague. Humans have disappeared, while animals thrive. Thus, it is a stray dog that shepherds him around the empty streets and mansions. Uncannily, Mary Shelley's text seems to pre-empt those who today see the earth being ecologically regenerated only through the withdrawal of people from different parts of it, leaving such areas to become naturally 'rewilded':<sup>8</sup>

Why could I not forget myself like one of those animals, and no longer suffer the wild tumult of misery that I endure? Yet, ah! What a deadly breach yawns between their state and mine! Have not they companions? Have not they each their mate – their cherished young, their home, which, though unexpressed to us, is, I doubt not, endeared and enriched, even in their eyes, by the society which kind nature has created for them? It is I only that am alone. (2008, p. 459)

## 4 Conclusion

Lawrence Buell sums up the ecocritical debate today in the following 'climactic' terms: "Apocalypse is the single most powerful master metaphor that the contemporary environmental imagination has at its disposal" (1995, p. 285. Quoted in Gerard 2004:93). Mary Shelley's own prophetic ending also confronts us with one of the most definingly existential moments of the whole novel.<sup>9</sup> While the past is obscured, a fragmented and unfinished account of it remains scratched on the "frail and attenuated Leaves of the Sybil" by the orphan poet and discovered and deciphered by Mary Shelley herself (2008, p. 7). The future is also symbolized by the small boat in which Lionel Verney sets sail in search of other survivors of the plague. Ahead lies the prospect of more widespread infection, or perhaps another tragic shipwreck, like the one in which Adrian (and Percy Shelley himself) were drowned. Or more hopefully, that of a distant landfall in which Mary Shelley discerns a new radical beginning for humankind, where another world is ultimately possible.

Yet, will not this world be re-peopled, and the children of a saved pair of lovers, in some to me unknown and unattainable seclusion, wandering to these prodigious relics of the ante-pestilential race, seek to learn how beings so wondrous in their achievements, with imaginations infinite, and powers godlike, had departed from their home to an unknown country? (2008, p. 466)

## References

- Shelley, M. (2008). *The last man*. Oxford World Classics.
- Shelley, P. (1812). *An address to the Irish people*. The Journeyman Press.
- Shelley, P. (1978). *Poetical works*. Oxford University Press.
- Shelley, P. (2009). *The major works: Including poetry, prose, and drama*. Oxford University Press.
- Shelley, P. (1990). *Shelley's revolutionary year*. Redwords.
- Aldiss, B. (1985). Introduction. In M. Shelley, *The last man*. The Hogarth Press.

---

<sup>8</sup> See further, Greg Garrard, "Apocalypse" in *Ecocriticism*, pp. 85–107. Also, [rewilding.org](http://rewilding.org)

<sup>9</sup> Morton D. Paley for example offers the following, less optimistic reading of the novel's ending: "However, the authenticity of Verney's narrative is predicated on his being *Last*, a condition that precludes by definition his having readers. It's true that by an unknown process his account has somehow been transformed into the shape it assumes in the Cumaean cave, to be spelled from Sibyl's leaves by the author. This may alleviate the reader's anxiety at having to imagine Lastness and the void that must follow Lastness, but it isn't what Verney himself has in mind. He wants readers as a guarantee of the survival of the race in the *future* and also as a testimony to his own existence. It is also for these reasons that he sets out to sea at the end of the book". (1993, p. 121)

- Aveling, E., & Marx Aveling, E. (1975). *Shelley's socialism*. The Journeyman Press. (Original work published 1888).
- Butler, M. (1981). *Romantics, rebels & reactionaries: English literature and its background 1760-1830*. Oxford University Press.
- Cernaik, J. (1992). *Mab's daughters: Shelley's wives and lovers, their own story*. Pan Books.
- Davis, M. (2022). *The monster enters: Covid-19, the avian flu and the plagues of capitalism*. Verso.
- Foot, P. (1984). *Red Shelley*. Bookmarks.
- Gerard, G. (2004). *Ecocriticism*. Routledge.
- Goldsmith, S. (1990). Of gender, plague, and apocalypse: Mary Shelley's *The last man*. *Yale Journal of Criticism*, 4(1), 129–73.
- Gordon, C. (2018). *Romantic outlaws: The extraordinary lives of Mary Wollstonecraft & Mary Shelley*. Hutchinson.
- Gordon, C. (2022). *Mary Shelley: A very short introduction*. Oxford University Press.
- Hamza, A. (2016). From the other scene to the other state: Jameson's dialectic of dual power. In S. Žižek (Ed.), *An American Utopia: Dual Power and the Universal Army* (pp. 148–168). Verso.
- Holmes, R. (1976). *Shelley: The pursuit*. Quartet Books.
- MacCarthy, F. (2002). *Byron: Life and legend*. John Murray.
- O'Brien, P. (2002). *Shelley and revolutionary Ireland*. Redwords.
- Murphy, O. (2020). *The last man* by Mary Shelley is a prophecy of life in a global pandemic. <https://www.sydney.edu.au/news-opinion/news/2020/05/05/mary-shelley-s-the-last-man-is-a-prophecy-of-life-in-a-global-pa.html>. 5 May 2020.
- Paley, M. D. (1993). *The last man: Apocalypse without millennium*. In A. A. Fisch, A. K. Mellor & E. H. Schor (Eds.), *The other Mary Shelley: Beyond Frankenstein* (pp. 107–123). Oxford University Press.
- Rigby, K. (2014). Confronting catastrophe: Ecocriticism in a warming world. In L. Westling (Ed.), *The Cambridge companion to literature and the environment* (pp. 212–225). Cambridge University Press.
- Sampson, F. (2018). *In search of Mary Shelley*. Profile Books.
- St Clair, W. (1989). *The Godwins and the Shelleys*. Faber & Faber.
- Spark, M. (2013). *Mary Shelley*. Carcarnet.
- Tomalin, C. (1992). *Shelley and his world*. Penguin Books.
- Trelawny, E. J. (1982). *Records of Shelley, Byron, and the author*. Penguin.